871 They learn something of natural history, such as major classifications of things in the animal, mineral, and vegetable kingdoms.

874 A few ambitious families send one or more of their children to high school in Morelia or to an agricultural school. Some are sent to the boarding school at Paracho, where they receive some education in a trade and in farming. A few also may go to Mexico City, and a case or two were discovered of children studying law or medicine. However, it is doubtful whether 2 dozen families in Cherán have sent their children on to advanced school training.

871 With all due acknowledgement of the effort and sincerity involved in the school system, ● 182 the Cherán schools do not train children in any real sense for life in Cherán. The average Cherán resident completing the school training has little advantage over his unschooled fellows in following the farming routines of the community. If he can read and write he perhaps has some less chance of being swindled in business transactions and more opportunity of rising to some municipal office. If his education is effective, however, and is put to use, it is by moving out of the basic pattern of Cherán. Such a person may become a storekeeper or a mill operator, where his education will be of some slight service to him. The major advantage of school training is to better equip some individuals to cope with the Mestizo world which impinges on Cherán to some extent. Even so, the school child acquires little knowledge of rights and responsibilities in a larger world. Insofar as the education is effective and is utilized—and this is even more markedly true of those going on for more advanced education—the effect is to move the individual out of the culture of Cherán. If he stays in Cherán he tends to become an exploiter rather than a producer, or to occupy a position where he furnishes some liason between the rest of the population and the Mestizo world. Or, more commonly, he moves out of the Cherán culture completely, residing in some other part of Mexico. Only to a very small extent and in a very limited number of cases does an individual become a better producer, that is, a better farmer; or practice a trade learned through schools; or become a force and example guiding the community to better housing, reformed

871 diets, better health practices, or higher stan-
882 dards of community organization. Formal education is still not geared to the needs and problems of Cherán life and is and will remain relatively ineffective until it becomes of obvious utility to the average Cherán resident. In other words, until the educational process is conceived of first of all from the standpoint of Cherán culture, instead of from the standpoint of national needs or theories, it will not be effective. And when education becomes geared to Cherán needs, paradoxically, it can then be effectively geared to national objectives.

YOUTH

882 The period of youth is very short in Cherán for most persons and there is no clearly defined lower limit to it. Boys seem to be regarded as youths when they are able to do a man's work or to be self-supporting but have not yet married. Marriage puts a termination to the period, although the young married man may still be under the tutelage of his parents. Still, after marriage a boy will be consulted in all family affairs; before marriage he normally will not be consulted unless he is much older than the age at which most Cherán youths are married. By 15 practically every Cherán youth is either earning his own living in part by working for wages or is working regularly on the family estate, taking a full man's share of the labors. In individual cases this may be true of youths as young as 12. Unmarried
883 youths of 16 to 18 do not spend much of their free time at home; indeed, they may not even eat at home regularly. They tend to hang around the streets in gangs in their spare time. They spend a good deal of time in one of the
[529] two billiard parlors which modern civilization
[525] has brought to Cherán, where they may gamble on billiards at 50 centavos a game, or may be drawn into card games, or may begin drinking. However, few of the youngsters go around the saloons very much, nor are many of them prone to drink excessively. In such groups will be concerted many of the "stealings" which are the preliminaries to marriage. At this period
882 boys in general are rather antisocial and appear to have some conflict with their parents. They feel they are growing up very fast and are impressed by the age gap which separates them

585 said, "Well, it is custom. The girl was not
584 forced but went willingly. There is no reason to be angry about this, nor with me, for I am not concerned in the matter but come to speak for the parents of the groom. They have come as is proper to arrange the affair." Late in the evening the father returned and agreed to the marriage, but he said little and clearly was angry.

162 One aspect of the marriage ceremonies not
585 sufficiently emphasized in the preceding ac-
602 counts is important: the new marriage means that the two families, in the most extended sense, will constantly cooperate in all sorts of ceremonial occasions. Thus, the groom's male relatives will help to move a house or roof a house, while the bride's female relatives will be called on to work in the kitchen on the same occasions. Both families will likewise be concerned with all the subsequent crisis periods in varying degree, especially when a grandchild marries at some future date.

585 The function of the wedding as an occasion for celebration, the release of tensions through drinking, the provision of diversion with the dancing, and the general stimulus through extensive social interaction is very considerable. For the participants, weddings probably rank as high or higher than fiestas as occasions for social contacts and amusement.

585 A feature most clearly demonstrated in the
987 weddings is the much greater participation of the older women. Young women with children usually do not take a very active part in the kitchen work, nor are they leaders in the exchange of clothing. The old women, on the other hand, are in the forefront of all activities. Essentially the wedding is a woman's affair in many respects. Old women are the most active in the kitchen. They are the first to start drinking, although they rarely drink to the excess common among the men, and they are the first to dance. Indeed, on older women the playing of dance music has an almost compulsive effect. Time and again, when dance music is being played, even though it is not time for dancing, some of the old women will be seen quietly dancing by themselves in a corner.

585 Although the ceremonies of marriage are
587 most elaborate in the case of first marriages, often marriages of widows or widowers are

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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I

INTRODUCTION

668 attitude of the people toward government officials and toward strangers in general. [609] The political struggle today has a strong religious tinge, for or against the Church, and local religious institutions are involved. While the traditional system of organizing cult festivals is somewhat in decadence, the Catholic church is strongly supported by the sinarquistas. The government anti-religious policy on the other hand is associated with the agraristas.

123 The ethnologist approaching a Tarascan town becomes aware of these conflicts on his very first attempt at contact with the people. He confronts the problem of being classified politically and having to define his attitude. This has made work difficult or even impossible in some cases.

● 182 The problem, then, of integrating the phenomena studied in Tarascan villages to the wider phenomena of national Mexican culture and society becomes imperative for any meaningful discussion of culture change among these people.

121 The concept of folk culture as something different from national culture, yet related to it, seems to be the best conceptual tool with which to handle problems arising from the relation between a given local community and the nation as a whole.[3]

Anthropologists studying modern Indian cultures of Mexico have followed the so-called community approach. They have selected one town and have studied the culture of that particular settlement as a self-contained unit. This approach, although useful and necessary, has to be supplemented by relating the local manifestations to the national processes of which they are only part.

The nation can be considered the primary culture carrying unit in our Western civilization. Within the nation, people are divided into local communities determined by common residence (abstraction being made of what determines common residence). Cutting across local communities, other segments of society are not defined by common residence of their members but by some other factor such as property

3. The author experienced the need for this approach while working in the field, but his theoretical approach to this problem took shape in Dr. Julian Steward's Seminar on Anthropology and Community Studies, at Columbia University.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.184] NU34 Tarasco NU34
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241 311 621 years. Therefore, men who own land in only one 'plain' plant only every other year. Consequently, everyone tries to have land in at least two 'plains'."[47]

Similarly in Jarácuaro, the whole island is divided into two sections which are alternately cultivated.

West describes this system as general in the Sierra.[48]

[609] Given this system of cultivation, the resistance against selling land to outsiders is easily understandable as all farmers have to work in close agreement. Any outsider using his land in a different way would disrupt the whole system.

452 621 438 433 This question of disintegrative versus conservative tendencies within the villages can also be discussed in relation to a subsistence economy or a market economy. No doubt, in proportion as production is for consumption within the village, the easier it is for the community to hold its own against disrupting influences; the more it is intended for a larger market, the more likely it is that outside influences will penetrate the life of the community.

439 433 The connection of any Tarascan village economy, whether agricultural or depending on crafts, to the national and world markets is undisputed and has been set forth clearly.[49] Part of the agricultural products, practically all handicrafts, and a sizable amount of labor are sold out by producers, while most consumption goods are bought from outside, with the exception of part of the food (housing and clothing to a much lesser extent). However, production of food, mainly corn for the villagers' own consumption, is basic to the economy of the villages and their relation to the national economy. This fact determines their attitude toward land and corn.

423 435 [185] Land is the most desired form of property and the safest way of investing money, because of the security it will give as a source of corn. The ability to produce one's own corn is the supreme aspiration of every farmer.

433 241 An analysis of agricultural economics shows that farming on poor land in Cherán (a prosperous farming town) and Tzintzuntzan is done at a loss; that is, production costs (equipment, taxes, labor, etc.) are greater than the value of the crop.[50] Owners of such lands could earn more by hiring out as laborers than by working their own fields.[51] This way of farming

47. Beals, 1946, 20.
48. West, 1948, 39.
49. Beals, 1946, 58-9; Foster, 1942, 148-6, 289-90.
50. Foster, 1942, 76-8, table 14; Beals, 1946, 65-6.
51. Foster, 1942, 78.

423 folk culture: some remaining communal
181 property; small private land holdings to a great extent devoted to a subsistence economy; survival of old agricultural techniques and handicrafts.

182 In spite of this conservatism, however, the decline of the village community goes
423 on. The concentration of land in haciendas, the main process by which the village com-
621 munities tended to disappear, has been checked. But other disruptive tendencies operate within the village: small holdings are insufficient for the growing population; there is a surplus of labor which the national economy is unable to employ; the decay of handicrafts goes on due to industrial competition; the loss of the remaining communal lands of the villages continues although under different forms. The agrarista seizure of communal lands for their exclusive use implies the decay of the communal ownings of the village. The government's restrictions on the use of forests or
[656] the formation of cooperatives to exploit the woods further diminishes the communal holdings of the villages.

Thus, in the economic sphere a basic conservatism is coupled with the pressure of disruptive tendencies which continually make the situation of the village community difficult without, however, being able to break it completely. The same contradiction is to be found in the developments taking place in religion.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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821 were crying and saying people did not care for
539 them any more; they went to Tierra Caliente."
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539 "Nowadays a dead man's finger is no longer
[778] good. In olden times it was useful because miracles still were possible. Now it is all finished, or maybe they were saints? Who knows?"

668 In this Catholic group, the people who have the most contacts with the outside world are not, like the agraristas, those more closely related to the government or school, but those who attend sinarquista rallies even as far away as Morelia or Guadalajara, or send boys to study for the priesthood. Like the agraristas, they are more closely connected with national life than the traditionalists, but they represent a different kind of allegiance to national institutions.

• • •

182 The folk culture of the Tarascan com-
771 munities has been characterized economically and socially and the main traits of the folk religion have been described. To the extent that the local communities have an economic and social life independent of the external world, an ideology of its own is typical of the folk culture. It is associated mainly with unorganized religion and the celebration and organization of the local Catholic cult. To the extent that the local community is part of a wider society

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and the cult is also part of the national Catholic cult, we find acceptance of two kinds of outside opinions. Some people rely more than before on the authority of the Church in questions of belief, while others criticize the Church in the same manner as the anticlericals throughout the country.

With the decline of the purely folk aspects of the local culture and the community's becoming increasingly part of the external world, come the decay of religious beliefs centering around and sanctioning these folk elements, and the growth of national aspects of culture, either through connection with the Church or with anticlerical groups.

To the decline of some local cult forms and of cargos as their manner of organization, corresponds (in the realm of ideology) a lack of belief in folk concepts, resulting in either the acceptance of more orthodox Catholicism or doubt in religion in general.

This is the trend by which the folk culture seems to begin to disappear. But as in the village economy and organization of religion, these trends are not carried to the end. The traditional folklore which sanctions folk culture still has meaning, and evidence that for some people it is still alive is seen in its being used against the disruptive tendencies personified in the agraristas.

2;Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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CONCLUSIONS

794 religious expenses or by contributions from all the villagers as a group or from an individual sponsor.

771 Religious ideology in this period must have had a considerable number of ideas related to the unorganized religion, probably non-ethical and based on the personification of Nature. The Catholic ideology dominated, however. Ethical in character, it sanctioned such folk culture values as the family, small property, the Indian way of life and proper observance of the folk cult. But it also sanctioned national institutions: support of the priest and the Church and the national order which the Church in its turn supports.

These communities began to decline in
621 the face of other growing segments of the society (primarily the haciendas), and
178 tendencies disrupting the folk culture became evident within the communities. Forces for change were active from early colonial times in advanced areas but at a much later date in backward areas such as parts of the Tarascan region. They became strongest with the capitalist development of Mexico at the end of the nineteenth century.

The loss of Indian lands to haciendas
423 diminished the importance of the Indian communities within the country. Within
● 182 the Indian communities the economic im-
178 pact of this development caused the abolition of communal property and the more complete individualization of landownership, the decline of crafts, more work on outside farms, increased dependency on the market, and wealth differences among the villagers.

771 After the separation of Church and State, the old system of organizing the religious cult no longer had State sanction. With new systems of local government the religious officers became less connect-
[794] ed with the civil. Cult financing came to be done almost exclusively through personal contributions by sponsors, and, given the changing economic order, it constituted a
[775] burden which often led to impoverishment and the loss of land.

The factors disrupting the folk culture
182 are evident in the folk ideology as it con-
178 demns money and wealth. With increased dependence on the outside world came

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 589] NU34 Tarasco NU34
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178 greater acceptance of outside authority in
182 questions of ideology. Also the institutions, such as sponsorships of festivals, sanctioned by the folk ideology, were now against the interests of people within the community.

178 The former forces of change led to con-
668 flict within the villages incited by the Mexican Revolution and subsequent agrarian reforms. Different political trends became discernible within the villages and the people in them had different religious aspirations and policies.

Agrarista groups were formed. In Mexico agraristas are peasants who receive land (usually from former haciendas) under the terms of the agrarian reforms. Such groups exist in some Tarascan villages which were close to haciendas, but in the conservative villages studied, agraristas are groups within the village, organized to take over lands which had been lost to outsiders, or which either belonged to larger landowners within the village or were communal property. In religion they aim at abolishing the cult. They particularly forbid the sponsorship and celebration of festivals, for they see in them the cause for the loss of their lands. Consequently the body of officers organizing those festivals is also suppressed. Belief in God and the saints may be kept and folk narratives are still told which express the old local community values but there is a considerable lack of belief in an ideology which sanctions what they oppose, including the Church. Some can be easily convinced by the anti-religious teachings of outside radicals.

In the conservative communities studied, since the agraristas formed a privileged minority, a reaction arose which finally prevailed. This reaction suppressed the privileges of the agraristas, gained control of the local government, and restored the cult. Within this reaction two trends in religious policies can be discerned. One group, which might be called traditionalist, favors following the cult as of old with the earlier system of sponsorships and a revival of the political and social importance of the sponsors within the community. In ideology it correlates with total belief in

178 668 the content of folklore and this folklore is used to prove agrarista wickedness.

The other group which seems to prevail is more closely connected with the Church politically. This group restores the cult but the old causes for decline of the folk religion are seen in their policy. They sometimes oppose individual sponsorships and attendant celebrations. New forms are used for organizing and financing festivals through the cooperation of all villagers. The folk cult tends to come under stricter control of the priest (tending towards greater orthodoxy) or of the civil authorities (towards secularization of the celebration). In the realm of ideology there is lack of belief in part of the folk ideas, but a basic belief and acceptance of the Church authority are kept. In belief, as in the celebrations of the cult, a more orthodox Catholicism is evident.

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One can see clearly the forces of change which might lead to the almost complete disappearance of the folk religion: lack of sponsors for folk festivals and a consequent decline in the festivals, some disappearing and others becoming secular affairs; lack of belief in folk narratives, leading to obsolescence or to their becoming non-religious narratives; and acceptance of outside anti-clerical policies or of strict Church control in questions of religion. But as long as the economic basis of the communities persists, some amount of folk religion will also survive. The extremist anticlerical position of the agraristas could not take root. The present Catholic reaction against them represents the balance of change, effecting neither complete disappearance of the folk religion nor a preservation of the old order. Nevertheless, the old factors for change continue in operation. The conflict between conservative and disruptive tendencies goes on and a stable integration can not be attained.

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Throughout this process of change the interplay of local and national factors is all the time evident. The changing folk culture of a local community can be understood only by relating the trends arising out of local conditions to the development of the nation of which the folk community forms a part.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 23-b]

called Colonia Dr. Miguel Silva (Villa Silva), was founded by volcano refugees in August 1943, 5 km. southwest of Ario de Rosales, on the upper margins of the *tierra caliente*. The settlement sheltered families mainly from Zirosto and some from Parícutin, Parangaricutiro, and Zacan.[a] The highland Tarascans have encountered several difficulties in the subtropical habitat: increased susceptibility to disease, unfamiliarity with subtropical clay soils, slow adaptation to new crop types. Consequently, within the last year (1945-46) the population of Villa Silva has decreased from approximately 600 to 300, owing to high death rate and movement of families back to the highlands; the new settlement may be abandoned within a short time. Besides resettlement in newly formed pueblos, many of the families from the stricken area have moved permanently to less damaged towns, such as Pamatácuaro, Charapan, Paracho, Uruapan, and Zamora.

[a] The continued activity of the volcano may force the complete abandonment of the partially ruined towns of Zacan and Zirosto. In the spring of 1946 the authorities of Zirosto were seriously considering the removal of the remnants of their townspeople to the ranch of Barranca Seca, 4 km. to the northwest.

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The Town's 1 534
ancient art of guitar making has aided in the preservation of folk 438
songs and possibly folk tales. 533
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The Legend

The pretty Tzintzin, the modest and genteel priestess of the 539
sun, unwittingly tantalized the young Tarascan warriors with her 312
deep red lips and brilliant black eyes. As was her custom, she went out one day with her empty jar on her shoulder to obtain some water from the fountain.

The Tarascan region was famed for its beautiful young maidens. However, among handsome young men it was the mention of Tzintzin's name that inspired the most ardent emotions, wild desires, and impossible aspirations – impossible because her heart already had been given to a young huntsman. The fortunate youth was the elegant Quanicoti, the best hunter and warrior in the kingdom. He wore the most beautiful skins and feathers in Paracho.

The souls of the young priestess and hunter were united in love as pure as the fragrance of flowers, as clean as the breath of spring. However, their devotion was as impetuous as the rushing waterfall in the Tzaráracua stream, falling in multicolored ribbons as in homage to the gods.

That afternoon as Tzintzin walked through the forest, her lover awaited to offer her the prettiest flower in the meadow and to help her carry the water home. Upon sighting one another, the eternal dialogue of love, the same in all ages and all languages, began its course.

As usual, time passed rapidly without the two lovers noting the lowering of Father Sun in his course through the sky. Always such tardiness evoked reproaches from Tzintzin's venerable parents. This afternoon the lovers were so engrossed in words of love that Father Sun approached the horizon and hid behind a rose-colored cloud. Gently the song of the nightingale fell upon the ears of the happy couple. Tzintzin gazed lovingly upon her lover as he left her.

Suddenly, in anguish, Tzintzin realized that the time had

1 [i.e., Paracho -- Analyst]

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

The dream portion in the same legend reveals the nature of the Tarascan people's subsequent acceptance of the Conquest through the successful teachings of the Catholic church.

As literature, the legends are presented in language which seems remarkably artistic and urbane for the Tarascan's menial status and lack of education in modern Mexico. However, it should be remembered that from the beginning these stories had a direct religious association and the Petamuti undoubtedly demanded rather exact adherence to theoretical norms of oral literature by the neophyte who would succeed him as the bearer and guardian of folk tradition. The conditions of their annual telling at the fiesta of *Uazcata cónscuaro* to the assembled tribe encouraged the priest to develop them into emotional, oral literature. Some of this pre-Conquest tendency has continued to the present time. Also, these legends have probably become embellished with illusions and atmospheric details by skilled narrators in historic times. This author-translator chose the most sophisticated and excitingly literary rendition available where a choice presented itself.

One of the most impressive facts about these legends, even to the non-analytical person, is the presentation of a "mood" and the changes in mood as the given story progresses. The narrator seems to live and to feel the story.

For some of these legends to have been preserved so well since the Spanish Conquest may reflect, to some extent, the relative isolation of Michoacán, but it seems more likely to indicate the importance these legends have had and still have in Tarascan life. In the present Tarascan area, nearly four hundred and fifty years of acculturation have obscured many traits of native provenience. Today's economic specialization and trade patterns are apparently based upon aboriginal conditions (West, 1948, p. 57), yet they are known to have been formalized by Europeans (Beals, 1946, p. 210). Nevertheless, the character of such things as marriage, family life, and the people's attitudes toward life's values—the real educative forces affecting the thinking and personality of Tarascans—appear to be relatively unchanged.

Despite the more recent modifications in material culture and social organization, the basic values woven into the early legends

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

539 of the Tarascans still provide the primary index of behavior in the
879 pueblos of the lake, La Sierra, and La Cañada. The heroes and
577 heroines pictured in this oral literature continue to serve as ideal behavioral referents, thereby providing through emulation the key to local approbation and social prestige.

539 The telling and re-telling of these legends is one way the
173 Tarascans instruct their young people in societal cooperation and
867 thereby maintain their cultural unity. Thus the Tarascan is pro-
182 vided with part of the cultural knowledge necessary to play the role expected of the individual in his native cultural setting. Even a casual visitor may notice certain attitudes of mind which date back to Conquest and pre-Conquest times, thereby providing the basis for a fundamental unity which has defied time and change.